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A SKETCH OF THE MANICHAEAN DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE FUTURE LIFE¹

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INTRODUCTION

THE SUBJECT of the fate of the individual soul after death and of the general end of the world is as engaging in Manichaeism as it is in all the higher religions. The doctrine relating to the hereafter formed the central point towards which Mānī's religious and ethical teachings gravitated and in which they culminated with the promised reward for the sanctified. To Mānī's vision, the future was as clear as was the past; and the assured hope of entering into that eternal abode of Light, of which his soul formed a part, was for him a source of strength in life and his consolation in the hour of martyrdom. Buoyed up by a like hope, hundreds of his adherents met death as martyrs on the same day as their leader, while age after age, for a thousand years, followers of his creed went without flinching to the stake and fagot, or sealed their faith with their blood. Only the confident belief that through the Apostle of Light they would share in the Light Supreme could have inspired such devotion.

In outlining the subject of Manichaeian eschatology we may deal first with the fate of the individual soul after death, and then with the end of the world. Our sources of information are partly Christian (allusions in the Church Fathers), still more often the Muhammadan accounts of Mānī's teachings on this particular point, but now, above all, the Manichaeian documents themselves, whether

¹ This sketch formed part of the Presidential Address delivered at the meeting of the Society in Toronto, Canada, April 23, 1930. As it is planned to develop the outline later into a book with translations of the texts in full, critical footnotes, and comprehensive references, these have been practically omitted here, except in the Second Part, pp. 181 ff. In that particular Part observe that slanting bars ///// are employed to indicate lacunae in the texts, computed after Müller's transliteration referred to throughout, while square brackets [] are used to indicate the restorations suggested by Müller or by the writer; parentheses () simply denote explanations or the like when required.

written in Middle Persian, Old Turkish, or Chinese, as discovered within the first decade of our century amid sand-buried ruins in the oasis of Turfan, Eastern or Chinese Turkistan, where they had lain hidden for a thousand years.

I

THE INDIVIDUAL JUDGMENT

Immediate Fate of the Soul. With regard to Mānī's conception of the immediate fate of the soul after death certain traces of the influence of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Christianity through Gnosticism, can be observed. The Christian traits, however, belong in general rather to the final than to the immediate judgment. Zoroastrian elements may be recognized in connection with both of these events; striking, for example, at the individual judgment is the figure of the fair maiden that meets the good soul, and the flight of the demons who seek to claim the departed spirit of the righteous, in contrast to the ugly hag that encounters the soul of the wicked, over which the demons are triumphantly victorious. Buddhism, combined with some other Indian traces, lent its tinge through the doctrine of metempsychosis as applied to the Manichaean Auditors, or lay-followers of the faith, who were thus given hope after fulfilling a long period of transmigration, while again the wicked are doomed not only to 'wandering in torment in the world', but to be ultimately consigned to Hell.

The threefold lot hereafter of mankind (Elect, Hearers, and Sinners), as based respectively on the preponderance of the elements of spirit, soul, and matter, is ultimately of Gnostic or Indian Sāṅkhya origin, but was fully recognized in Manichaeism by St. Augustine, himself for nine years a Manichaean before he became a Christian. He states (*Contra Faustum*, 20.21) that, according to Mānī, 'the souls of the dead, if they are (1) wicked (i. e. Sinners), or (2) not wholly purified (i. e. Hearers), either go (as in the case of the Hearers) into the revolving changes (of metempsychosis), or (as in the case of Sinners) into certain punishments still more severe; but (3) the good souls (of the Elect) are placed in the ships (of the moon and the sun) and sailing through heaven cross hence into that phantasmal region of the Land of Light.' This statement by the famous bishop of Hippo has since received complete corroboration through passages in the

Arabic and other sources, and now through the actual Manichaean documents themselves. Space, however, forbids quotation.

WEIGHING IN THE BALANCE AND THE LIFE-ACCOUNTING. In connection with the individual judgment, as has been shown in another paper by the present writer (*JAOS.* 43. 20-24), the idea of the weighing of the soul in the scales of judgment after death, which is a characteristic tenet of the Zoroastrian faith and found earlier in Egypt, appears likewise in Manichaeism, as does also the conception of the keeping of a life-account to be rendered hereafter. Two Manichaean Fragments, one in Old Turkish and the other in Middle Persian, make this fact certain. For the righteous one, or Elect, this test surely offered no difficulty, for the less pious Hearer it must have been a more serious trial, while for the Sinner it was a fatal ordeal. The scales of justice at the judgment tribunal (appearing also in the Mandaean religion, which is akin to Manichaeism in many respects) may therefore be assumed in each case.

THE INDIVIDUAL LOT. The fate of the individual soul at the assize, immediately after death, is described by the noted Arabic writer an-Nadīm, in his *Fihrist* (ed. tr. Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 69-70; 100-101), drawing upon some work of Mānī's that is no longer extant. This account, which bears every evidence of being based on Mānī's own words as an-Nadīm states, though no mention is made of the justice scales, is graphic in its details, but can only be summarized here.

In the case of the Righteous (and Mānī recognized women Elect as well as men), four Gods make their appearance before the soul, among whom the Celestial Jesus is evidently to be recognized. The three other divine beings as joint assessors at the tribunal are probably adopted by Mānī from the three Zoroastrian judges, Mithra, Sraosha, and Rashnu. With these four gods comes also the Maiden (a Zoroastrian touch) as the reflection of the virtues of the Elect. Demons likewise, as in Zoroastrianism, appear in order to lay claim to the soul, but take flight on beholding the divine beings, who then clothe the sanctified with a robe of light, crowning him with a diadem and nimbus, and placing in his hand a vessel of quickening water. The symbolism of all this is easy to recognize. Thereupon, the righteous soul ascends by the Column of Praise (Milky Way) to the sphere of the Moon, thence to the

Sun, and from there into the realm of the Light Supreme. As to the body that has been left behind by the righteous one, the divine forces of nature draw out from it whatever particles of light may remain, and these are gradually elevated to the Sun and become a god, while the rest of the body, as wholly dark, is destined later to be cast into Hell. In connection with this account by an-Nadīm, it need only be added that the Chinese Manichaean Roll (tr. Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, p. 123-124) adds picturesque details regarding the ascent of the good soul, while the Chinese Treatise, Turkish Fragments and other Manichaean sources, in their turn, frequently allude to the felicity which the Elect enjoy forever in the World of Light.

The immediate lot of the Hearer, or Auditor, is naturally less fortunate, according to the Fihrist, since such a one is not yet qualified to merit the higher bliss. The same gods appear at the tribunal, yet without bringing for him the robe; the same demons likewise come. The soul in dread makes appeal to the gods for consideration on account of the good which he may have done in upholding the Religion and supporting the Elect. The gods therefore save him from the demons, but he is destined for a time, through the cycle of metempsychosis, 'to be in the world like a man who sees terrible things in his sleep,' continuing thus until his light and spirit become freed. He will then in the 'second form' join the assembly of the righteous (Elect), and put on their robe after the long period of his roaming.

As regards the Sinner, 'whom Greed and Lust dominate', as an-Nadīm says (Flügel, p. 71, 101), 'when his death takes place the Demons come to him, seize and torture him and show him terrible things. Whereupon come those Gods, having with them that robe, and the sinful man thinks they are come indeed to rescue him. But they have come (only) to revile him and to remind him of his deeds, and to force upon him the necessity of giving up any help from the righteous in his case. Thenceforth he will not cease wandering in torment in the world, until the Time of the End, when he will be cast into Hell.'

An-Nadīm concludes his account with the words: 'These, therefore, Mānī says, are the three ways into which the souls of men are divided', and he repeats once again Mānī's own brief summation.

It is evident from this, and from other indirect allusions, that Mānī saw only eternal damnation for the wicked.

Thus much concerning the fate of the individual soul immediately after death, the *Judicium Particulare* we may call it, and now we turn to the Final Judgment and the End of the World.

II

THE FINAL JUDGMENT AND THE END OF THE WORLD

The Final Judgment. In his eschatological visions, Mānī saw revelations of a time to come when evil will be finally eliminated from the cosmos, Darkness be once more wholly separated from Light, and the universe restored to its pristine state. All this was in accordance with his doctrine of 'the Three Times': (1) the age primordial, when Light and Darkness were entirely separate, (2) the intermediate age, when they became commingled, through the invasion of Light by the Powers of Darkness, and (3) the final, when Light and Darkness are again to be totally divided and remain so for all eternity.

Mānī, as evidence shows, must have been familiar with the old-time Zoroastrian doctrine of twelve thousand years as comprising the total duration of this world. At the end of each of the last three millenniums, according to Zoroastrianism, a prophet born of Zoroaster's seed is to appear for the betterment of mankind, the one finally to come being called the *Saoshyant*, Benefactor or Savior, who will usher in a perfected world and prepare for the general judgment and the end of the visible universe. Mānī thus looked for a final millennium. From the now-known Manichaean documents themselves, supported by other sources, we can see also that Mānī was influenced likewise by the Messianic and apocalyptic ideas in Christianity, calling himself the 'Apostle of Jesus', 'Child of the Gods', and the like, and claiming, as non-Manichaean sources state, to be the promised 'Paraclete'.

The looked-for Consummation and End of the World. The technical term in Manichaeism for this wished-for consummation of a perfected world and the final end is *Frashēgērd* (*Frašēgērd*), precisely the same word as the old Zoroastrian designation *Frashōkereti* (*Frašōkereti*), which literally denoted 'making (the world) advanced' to perfection at last. The Greek writer

Hegemonius, in his *Acta Archelai*, grasped the concept correctly, as is shown by his rendering *Συμπλήσια*, 'Completion' in the sense of a perfected end, which the author of the Latin version of this work translated (likewise rightly) by *Consummatio*.

Signs of the Times. Mānī certainly felt that the times bore signs of the beginning of the end, even though the complete fulfilment through the 'Great Fire', or world-conflagration, alluded to below, required nearly a millennium and a half of years according to his own prediction. To his followers, Mānī's coming into the world meant the advent of a new era. One of the Turfan Pahlavi Fragments, numbered S. 9 in the Leningrad collection, and apocalyptic in tone, at least implies a second coming at the end now near at hand. The second section of this Fragment contains a colloquy between a faithful disciple (perhaps Addas) and Mānī, with reference to the redemption of the Elect and the impending future, full of portent. The excerpt here literally translated, with unimportant omissions, will convey the impression that the looked-for end was not far away.

S. 9, b 33-d 33 = Salemann, *Manichaica III*, p. 8-14. (The Disciple requests Mānī). "Tell me, O Ruler and Friend, disclose unto me, thou Son of the Most Glorious One, about the time of thy advent, when thou shalt come at the end. Tell thou Great Releaser, my Teacher, about that time and its signs." . . . (In response Mānī says in part). "More than quick comes that time for the conflicts, the years with their troubles (lit. debts, obligations), when they run like water in the eyes! Near is it come to that time. . . . Teach (therefore), worship and chant aloud!" (The reasons for the assured rejoicing are omitted here in the translation). The Ruler Mānī himself taught the signs of //// [= *zamān*, the time] supreme.'

The whole Fragment S. 9, however, is thought to be of relatively late date, composed some considerable time after Mānī's death, but it indicates that certain of his followers looked for their master to appear again at the Last Days, the signs and events of which are apocalyptically portrayed in passages preserved from his own *Shābūhṛagān* as translated below. The group of *Shābūhṛagān* Fragments thus far available makes no mention of Mānī as the one to come, and in the light of our present information we have reason to believe that it was Jesus whose advent at the end he himself expected.

To this important and earlier group of manuscript remnants from Mānī's Shābūhragān, written in Turfan Pahlavi, we may at once devote our attention. It occupies some fifteen pages in the edition of F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-reste*, 2. 11-25, and comprises a half-dozen apocalyptic Fragments. Two of these bear the heading ŠĀBŪHRAGĀN, the title of Mānī's well-known work, to which also the associated pieces must equally belong. Through traces of the red ink captions which in several instances had superimposed their letters upon the leaf opposite, Müller (p. 10) convincingly proved that four of these Fragments were to be arranged in the following order: M. 475, 477, 482, 472. He remained uncertain, however, regarding the position of the other two Fragments concerned, namely, M. 470, 473. This uncertainty may now be dispelled. The latter Fragment (473 a and b, in each case with recto and verso), judging from its contents, can be unhesitatingly placed at the head of the entire sixfold group, because its scenes form the prelude to the General Judgment, which these pieces describe. On the other hand, the Fragment which we have called the sixth, namely, M. 470 a, b, picturing the world-conflagration ('Great Fire'), the coming of the Gods and the sanctified to watch the spectacle, and the torments of the wicked burning in the Fire, must fittingly stand at the end of the whole group.

Although I have made a complete translation of the six Apocalyptic Fragments, with critical notes and explanations, for publication later, I can here give only a rendering of the first, and then an outline of the contents of the other five Fragments, with short renderings incidentally inserted. The sequence of events described in our sixfold group may at least be gathered from the following sketch, occasionally supplemented by references to non-Manichæan sources which have a direct bearing.

The Prelude to the Final Judgment.—Coming of the 'God of the Realm (Aeon) of Wisdom.'—The first Fragment (M. 473 a and b = Mü. p. 22-25) pictures the coming of the 'God of the Realm of Wisdom' (Jesus as Primal Intelligence, as we shall see directly) to assume his rôle at the Judgment.

The piece itself consists of only two leaves, greatly broken at the bottom, so that a considerable portion of each of the four pages is lost. This loss complicates the interpretation and we can only

infer from the general content, and from the way in which the succeeding pages begin, what may have been contained in the missing portions. A connecting link, moreover, between the parts of this twofold remnant and the two long Fragments (M. 475, 477 = Mü. p. 11-16) that come next in sequence and are preserved almost entire, is furnished by the fact that in these four the title 'God of the Realm (Aeon) of Wisdom' (*Xradēšahr Yazd*), or simply the 'Realm of Wisdom' (*Xradēšahr*), is repeatedly applied to the looked-for divine being who is to appear at the end. As already intimated, there can be no doubt that it was Jesus whom Mānī designated by this title.*

Convincing proof of the correctness of this interpretation is given by the fact that among a list of Mānī's writings about Jesus, as recorded in a TPhl. Fragment at Leningrad, although only the titles are given, is one (S. 1. 13, cf. Salemann, *Man. Stud.* 1, p. 32) designated as having dealt with the subject of 'The Coming of Jesus, the One Making-alive' = *āmadišnih 'ig Yišō' Zindka[r]*. Added support is lent by the fact that in our own group the next Fragment (M. 475), which Mānī took largely from St. Matthew, 25.31-46, is captioned '[The Coming] of the Son of Men' (observe plural) = *'i Mērdān Pūsar* (i. e., Jesus). Not only that, but still further evidence is furnished by Fragment M. 482, which follows directly after the Fragment just cited and its immediate sequel (M. 477), likewise from Matthew, and which is assured by its caption to be a part of Mānī's *Shābūhragān*. This much-broken but important bit (M. 482 r. 1-9 = Mü. p. 16) seems to portray the sorrow felt by the sanctified because some of their own relatives were not saved, thus ending in a minor chord, and concludes the description of the Judgment section by adding, in red ink letters for the reader's guidance, the words: 'Completed is the Coming of the One who is Making-alive'—*Hanzapt āmadišnīy 'i Zindk[ar]* (M. 482 r. 10 = Mü. p. 16). This same epithet, 'the One Making-alive', i. e., Life-giver, Revivifier, is applied again elsewhere to Jesus (*Yišō' Zindkar*, 'Jesus the Life-giving', in M. 74 r. 14 =

* This latter interpretation departs from my earlier view (*JAOS*, 1927, 47. 193-197, but cf. p. 194 top), which held that Primal Man was here intended. Yet after all, the difference is not materially great, since Jesus as a divine messenger is only a re-manifestation of Primal Man. Every student is familiar with the idea of mystic union in Manichaeism. Cf. C. H. Kraeling, *Anthropos and the Son of Man*, p. 33, New York, 1927.

Mü. p. 75; and cf. *Marī Zindag Yīšō*, 'Lord, Living Jesus,' in M. 102 v. caption = Mü. p. 65). It is probable, moreover, as Dr. C. J. Ogden suggests to me, that Jesus is similarly alluded to by the adjective *zindkar*, 'Life-giver,' whose 'chosen one' is Mānī himself, in a quotation from Mānī's own Epistle to Ḥatā, M. 733. 14 (= Mü. p. 31 mid.). The quotation there reads: *pad ḥān čīd ī Zindkar*, 'through that chosen one (i. e. Mānī) of the Life-giver (i. e. Jesus).' For *čīd* (*č y d*), 'chosen, selected,' compare *čīd būd ḥēm*, 'I have been chosen,' M. 4, page 4, line 4 = Mü. p. 54 top. While the adjective *zindkar* is used as an attribute of Mānī twice in a single hymn (M. 311 r. 5, v. 11 = Mü. p. 66-67), it is above all most fittingly applied in our present excerpt to Jesus as presiding over the final Judgment. We are, therefore, certainly entitled to accept the view that Jesus, according to Mānī, is the God of the Realm of Wisdom whose advent is awaited as judge at the general assize. Cf. also Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, p. 21-22, and H. H. Schaefer, *Studien (Iranische Lehren)*, p. 284-286. In connection, furthermore, with the Judgment we must always keep in mind that Mānī believed only in a spiritual resurrection (*ristāxēz*), not in any resurrection of the body.

Events connected with the Coming. Portentous manifestations in the heavens herald the coming of the 'God of the Realm of Wisdom' who, in consequence of the troublous times, will bring knowledge down to the world before the final consummation of the Frashēgērd. Angels, dispatched at his bidding, will summon from east and west all mankind living. The wicked reject his message and by their false claims deceive some whose faith is weak. On the other hand, the five mighty guardians of the several heavens and earths, together with the righteous and even the humbled demons, will unite in paying him homage.

A literal translation of the first two very broken Fragments (M. 473 a and b = Mü. p. 22-25) follows, with my suggested restorations in square brackets and a few footnotes added.

(*Portents foretokening the coming Judgment*)

M. 473 a, recto 1-11. '[//////// = *Ūd andar*, And in] the Moon and the Zodiacal Constellations and the Stars a great sign will become manifest. Afterwards the God of the

Realm (Aeon) of Wisdom, he who //// [= 'ast, is] the first, that male creature Primal Intelligence, [that] first Wisdom and Knowledge, ///// [= 'āyād, will come]. And he, in consequence even (*pas-āč*) of the affliction upon affliction¹ and [distress] upon distress,¹ will send down (to the world) Wisdom and Knowledge, (namely), that d[ctrine, *p/// = pand?*] and this ('ōē-č) t[eaching, 'ā//////// = *'abdēsīšn?]² which is the last, prior to³ the Frash[ēgērd, *praš////////*]. [Then ///// = *gaḥi*] the Realm of Wisdom's [God /// = *yazd*] ////////// (will appear).'

[*Rest of the page is missing*]

The missing portion probably described this advent of the God of the Realm of Wisdom, if we may judge from the way in which the next page begins.

(*All Mankind summoned*)

M. 473 a, verso 1-10. 'They (i. e. the Pious) will ////////// [= *namāš ba*] *rānd*, pay [homage] and him/// ////////// [with joy they will re]ceive.⁴ But (lit. 'and') the man who is a worker of Greed ('*āzēgar*) ////////// [= '*abāg*, along with] the

¹ The words *žār žār*, repeated for emphasis, I have compared with NP. *zār*, 'groaning, lamentation,' and feel certain in the next we may fill in the lacuna as ['*āvām*] '*āvām*. Concerning the word '*āvām*, 'debt, obligation, responsibility,' hence 'trouble, distress,' see note on 'v 'm 'n (*aavāmān*, *āvāmān*, plur) in Frag. S. 9 c, 33, in my forthcoming volume of *Researches in Manichaeism*.

² The conjecture *'abdēsīšn, 'showing, teaching,' is here based on the TPhl. verbal forms '*abdēsā* (impv.), '*abdēsēd* (pret.), 'show thou; he showed, taught,' in Mü. p. 90 top, 34 bot. Etymologically recall the Indo-Iranian root Skt. *dis-*, Av. *dis-* (*daēs-*), 'to show, point out'; and the Skt. noun *upa-deśa-*, 'showing, instruction'. The assumed abstract *'abdēsīšn would be a natural nominal derivative. Phonologically compare Bartholomae, *Zum AirWb.*, p. 165 bot., 169 mid.

³ *nazd* 'ō: lit. 'next to,' i. e., directly prior to. The broken word *prš* ////////// may well be supplied as *Fraš[ēgērd]*. Further support for this suggestion would be given by the German rendering by Andreas (in Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch*, p. 50, in *Sitzb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1919), which reads, 'nahe vor der Wiederherstellung (der Welt).'

⁴ Reading 'ū-š [*pad šādīy pa*] *dīrānd*. Compare *pad šādīy*, 'joyously,' in M. 4 e, 6 = Mü. p. 56 mid., while the restoration [*pa*] *dīrānd*, 'they will receive', is certain.

evildoers and perverters (?) of men⁵ //////////////(?) will become filled with remorse. And afterwards the God of the Realm of [Wis]dom will send his Angels to the east and to the west.⁶ And they will go and /////// (will gather?) mankind, the /////// [El]ect(?)⁷ along with the Helpers (i. e. the Hearers). Also the Evildoers, with those of like malice,⁸ /////// //š [= *āyānd pēš*, will come be]fore the Realm of Wisdom.⁹

[*Rest of page, perhaps ten lines, is lost*]

The lost part of the page may have given some details preceding the assembling, since the next opens with the arrogance and deception shown in a speech by the wicked.

(*Arrogance of the Wicked prior to the Assembly*)

473 b, recto, 1-11 (= Mū. p. 24)⁹ '//////// [= The Wicked] will dash in¹⁰ and they speak thus: "We, ////////// [= *pad*

⁵ The reading of the compound *mardēhangān* is assured. The first element means 'man,' and the interposed *ē* is anaptyctic. For the second element we may compare NP. *hang*, 'wound, hurt, injury,' and the verb *hanjidan*, 'to vex, injure, try, tempt,' Steingass, *Pers. Dict.* p. 1515, 1513. Render therefore 'perverters of men,' Andreas, in Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch*, p. 50 (*Sitzb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.* 1919, p. 12) translated by 'menschenverführende (?)', with a question mark.

⁶ Compare Matt. 24. 31; 25. 31, the coming of the Son of Man in his glory with the angels, and the nations all gathered before him.

⁷ The context implies the Elect as accompanied by the Hearers. As a guess I would suggest reading [*ādiy*]*āvar*, 'the assisting one, Assistant' and apply it to the perfected who are truly aids to the religion. For the etymology of *ādiyāvar*, see Bartholomae, *Zum AirWb.* p. 26 n., 43 top, 101 bot. It is not possible to read [*dēn*]*var*, because the *ā* in our word *-āvar* is long. The word *ādiyāvar* occurs also in Frag. T. II. D. 178, 1, v. 1 b, *hūfryād 'āṭ ādiyāvar*, 'well-beloved and helper,' see W. and L. *Die Stellung*, p. 112 mid.

⁸ TPhl. *hāmke[ni]šnān*, cf. Av. *kaēnā*-, 'vengeance, punishment, malice,' and NP. *kēn*, 'hatred, rancor, malice, revenge.'

⁹ For this corrected order of the respective sides of this fragmentary leaf, as Mū. p. 24, 23, see Müller's remarks, p. 108 mid. Notice also that the verso page (Mū. p. 23) has preserved 13 lines, while this recto page seems to have kept only eleven lines.

¹⁰ *p(?)ad(?)ānd vā govēnd*: if the reading *padānd* is correct, we may compare Av. *pat*-, 'to fly, fall', as used of the movements of demonic creatures with the meaning 'to rush, dash', etc. For the phonology, cf.

pand, in doctrine] ar[e] the imitators (?Simulators)¹¹ of the G(?)ods, /// [= 'ūd, and] in (*pad*) this doctrine which has been taught¹² by us // [= 'ō, to] mankind, everyone //// [will believe]¹³ and they will go on in the love of evil-doing." Moreover, the man of the Religion who may not (really) believe in his own (*x[vēš]*) Religion, he too will attach himself to the[m].¹⁴ [And] at that time, when things i[n] the world will become thus, both on earth and in heaven,¹⁵ ///// (= the

Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* § 84 a. Similarly (though with some uncertainty), Salemann, *Man. Stud.* p. 109, renders as 'sie werden schreiten' (oder 'fallen'). In the case of *govēnd* (indic.), 'they speak, say,' observe the change of mode from the preceding subjunctive.

¹¹ I would suggest filling the breaks in the text of lines 1-4 as follows: [ʼa]mah [*pad pand*, cf. line 3] *y(?)az(?)dān pēysgar hōm[ēm?] ʼūd pad* 'in *pand* ʼig ʼamah [ʼō] *mardōhm praʼist* etc. While the reading of *pēysgar* is certain the meaning is open to question. The first element *pēys* (*p y y s*) (the expanded writing of *yy* for *ē* and *i* being not infrequent) is to be compared with *pēys* (= *pēs*) in M. 74 v. 15 (Mü. p. 76 bot.), *pēys* 'bōzīgār, 'the form (likeness, semblance) of the Releaser.' Thus *pēysgar* (sg. for pl., cf. line 11 [*pēs*]garān) would mean 'form-makers, likeness-makers, imitators, simulators.' Etymologically, *pēs* is to be associated with Av. 1 *paēsa*, 'adornment' (hence semblance, likeness, form); it is not to be confused with Av. 2 *paēsa*, NP. *pēs*, 'leprosy'.

¹² *praʼist* (*fraʼist*): cf. also Bartholomae, *ZumAirWb.* p. 75, n. 1, who translates by 'gelehrt' and compares with Skt. *pradiṣṭa*, 'pointed out, shown, taught.' For *st* = *št* compare such interchanges as 'istādan, 'istādan and other examples in the Fragments, and see Bartholomae, in WZKM. 22. 74-78; 29. 5 n. 3.

¹³ Fill the lacuna (////) by *v r v'd* (*varavād*), 'will believe', from BkPhl. *varavistan*, 'to believe'; also TPhl. *varavist*, 'it believed,' S. 9 b. 17. For this verb consult West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 241; P. Horn, NP. *Etym.* § 912; H. F. J. Junker, *Frahang*, p. 93, Heidelberg, 1912, and see Salemann, *Man. Stud.* p. 77.

¹⁴ 'ō 'ōēš[ān] *hanzapsūd*: the inchoative verb *hanzapsūd*, lit. 'will complete', has here its etymological force (*ham* + *gam*-, 'come together, unite with' (cf. Sm. p. 85 top) in the sense of 'completing by combining with, allying oneself with.' For the formation, cf. Bartholomae, *ZumAirWb.* p. 51 n., 64 n., 162 top. Observe, furthermore, that Salemann, *Man. Stud.* l. p. 85 bot., assumes an infin. **hanzapsūdan*, 'an einander kleben, sich gesellen,' and compares NP. *časpīdan*, 'to adhere, join' and Judaeo-Pers. *čapsīdan*.

¹⁵ 'asmān: this evidently implies an allusion to the portents in heaven, M. 473 a, 1-3, cf. above.

[*Rest of the page is missing, perhaps a dozen lines. Cf. remarks at end of the preceding section*].

*(The mighty Shout—The Tidings received everywhere—Homage
by all to the Realm (Aeon) of Wisdom).*

M. 473 b, verso, 1-13, Mü. p. 23-24. '[(1)/////////
/////////] d h = 'ten' (2) ////////// (. . . , informa-
tion?) of the m[essage] there wi[ll] be. And a mighty shout
//// [= 'až'ōē by him] will be raised; the whole world will
s[eparately re]ceive the tidings.¹⁸ ////////// (= *Dūdī*, Fur-
thermore) those (?)¹⁹ Gods who are in the whole region
of the [he]avens and the earths, (i. e., the Five Guardian
Lords) Mānbēd, Visbēd, Zandbēd, Dahībēd, Pāhragbēd,²⁰ and

¹⁷ [pēys]garān: see above, note 11.

¹⁸ Reconstruct as, *hāmśahr 'azd y[ūd padīr]ā(?)d*, 'the whole world will separately receive the information'. For *y[ūd]*, 'separately, individually', as I conjecture, we may compare BkPhl. *yūt* (traditionally read as '*jvit*, *javit*') in the same sense; again also in the TPhl. Frag. M. 4, p. 3 b. 22 (= Mū. p. 53 bot.) '*avištād hēm yūd 'ac nīdāmag*, 'I have been established separately, from the beginning' (foundation, de-posit); in the latter passage TPhl. *yūd* is similarly taken by Sm. *Man. Stud.* 1.86, as 'ausser, getrennt'; furthermore, regarding BkPhl. *yūt* (*yut*) and comparative *yuttar*, consult Junker, *Frahang*, p. 78, and Bartholomae, *WZKM.* 27. 358.

¹⁰ To fill the lacuna and clear up the doubtful reading, // q(?)ēśān, I would suggest to read the line as [Dūdi 'ō]ēśān yazdān and compare with Mü. p. 14 top, Dūdi 'ō 'ōēśān [dū]ške[rdaq]ānān . . . govēd, 'furthermore to those Evildoers . . . he says.'

³⁰ These powerful world-guardians, lit. 'Lords of the House, Village, Province, Country, and the Guardianship' (titles adopted by Māni from the Zoroastrian fivefold division of the body politic and its leaders), are familiar through Augustine's interpretative terminology in variant order

are revilers²¹ of the Demons, will bestow a blessing upon that Realm of Wisdom, and the men // // // // // [= 'i dēnvarān, who are righteous] will become rulers in the realm. // // // // // [= ('ūd har)v, Moreover, all] the Demons will go into his presence, // // // // // [= barānd, will pay] homage, // // // // // (= 'ūd kūnānd, and will do] his command.'

[*The rest of the page is missing*].

The lost portion of this page probably contained further details about the assembling before the Judge, as may be inferred from the connected texts which follow, though only an outline of the contents of these can here be presented.

The Righteous and the Wicked stand before the Judge. These two succeeding Fragments (M. 475, 477 = Mü. p. 11-16) are practically complete and comprise four full pages. Mānī has based them directly upon the Judgment scene in the Gospel of St. Matthew, 25. 31-46, the parallel passages to which in the other evangelists are also familiar to us. It is important to note, in passing, that quotations from this very chapter in Matthew are placed by St. Augustine on the lips of the Manichaean Faustus (Contra Faustum, 5. 3) when the Christian Bishop is confuting him as a heretic. It is likewise interesting to observe in the two Fragments under consideration how Mānī, in adopting the Gospel narrative, also adapts by making additions or giving touches that were suitable to his own purpose. Some characteristic instances of this will be pointed out in the following outline of these two pieces, the translation of which, with annotations, is reserved for the book already mentioned.

Each of the four pages of M. 475, 477 bears a caption, running in sequence as follows: (1) '[Coming] of the Son of Men. (2) About the Judgment, (3) and the Separation. (4) The Two Great Principles.' These give a good idea of what is contained in the texts themselves, which may be summarized.

as Splenditenens, Rex Honoris, Adamas Heros, Gloriosus Rex, Atlas, and by similar designations of their functions in other Manichaean sources (Greek, Arabic, Chinese).

²¹ *arōstār*: noun of agency from Av. *xraos-*, 'to shout, yell at, terrify by shouting' (on *st* for *št* see note 12 above). Andreas (in Reitzenstein, *Das mand. Buch*, p. 51) translates by 'Schmäher'; I have given its connotation by 'revilers'.

The first page (M. 475 recto, lines 1-24 = Mü. p. 11-12), headed '[Coming] of the Son of Men' (*sic*, observe plural), refers to Jesus, who is spoken of in these particular sections as 'the God of the Realm of Wisdom,' as explained above. While the page under discussion has the spirit of the Gospel, it is a prefatory addition by Mānī and lends color to the narrative. The Righteous are here introduced as speaking apologetically and conscientiously to the God of the Realm of Wisdom (Jesus as Judge) thus: "[O] our Lord, if from thee we [have kept] covered (i. e. concealed) anything (*tī[s]*) and they ho(?)ld this // (against us?), we will, in thy presence, tell // [= *in harv*] it all." [And un]to them the God of the Realm of Wis[dom] will give answer thus: "Look upon me and be happy."²² Since he already knows whatever slight transgression may have been theirs and will receive his due consideration, he immediately reassures them by his blessing as he places them on the right side, joyously with divine sanctification, to await judgment. Upon the wicked, separated to the left as evil-doers, he forthwith utters an imprecation, and to rebuke their previous arrogance he sternly says: "'Do not rise erect"²³ (i. e. bow humbly) // [= *ē hān*, because this] all will become clear (*ispēz*). For // [*an dānēm* (cf. Mü. p. 11 mid.), I know] the sin which [has been] done by you [and] the mighty suffering // [which ye have caused?]; for that ye // [will be punished?]'".

[The latter part of this line and the whole of the last are undecipherable].

The second page (M. 475 verso, 1-24 = Mü. p. 12-13) is captioned in continuation as 'ABOUT THE JUDGMENT,' and follows rather closely the Gospel account of the righteous who have ministered unto the hungry and thirsty, the naked and sick, those in

²² Full critical notes, as stated above, are reserved for elsewhere.

²³ *Mā darvāwēz*: this problematic word can be readily solved by dividing as *darvā* (*ā*)*wēz*, 'rise erect', comparing NP. *darvā*, 'raised, erect', in *darvā šudan*, 'to stand erect', *darvā kardan*, 'to make erect', cf. Steingass, *Pers. Dict.*, p. 514. The imperative verb *āwēz*, 'rise' (sg. i. e., individually) is found elsewhere in TPhl, cf. M. 555, 1 = Mü. p. 74 mid., *āwēzēd*, 'rise ye'; also cf. Müller, *Doppelblatt . . . Maḥrnāmag*, p. 22, line 319, *āwēzēd brādarān*, 'rise, ye brethren' (pl., i. e. all together); cf. furthermore the noun *rīstāwēz*, 'rising of the dead.'

prison, and the stranger and 'wanderer' (?). A Manichaean touch is lent to the response of 'those who are the helpers of the Righteous,'²⁴ since they mention Mānī's two arch-fiends *Āz* and *Avarzōg*, 'Greed and Concupiscence', in their answer to the Realm of Wisdom. 'O Lord, thou art a God and immortal, whom neither Greed nor Concupiscence vanquish, and who dost not become hungry and thirsty, and upon whom suffering and distress come not; when [was it that] we did this service?' The Lord's answer to them, 'That which ye have done,' etc. is continued at the top of the next page by the promise. "Unto you I will give the reward of Paradise (*vaḥištāv pādāsēn*)," [and to t]hem he will [giv]e great joy.'

This third page (M. 477 recto, 1-24 = Mü. p. 13-15), the opening lines of which have already been translated, is captioned 'AND THE SEPARATION' (lit. 'going apart'),²⁵ and proceeds with the charges against the Wicked, who have failed to do any of the deeds of mercy, each again enumerated, and with the Realm of Wisdom's bitter complaint against them.

The fourth page (M. 477 verso, lines 1-16 = Mü. p. 15-16) is headed 'THE TWO GREAT PRINCIPLES' of Light and Darkness, as typifying the fate good or evil. The first half of this page sums up the judgment pronounced against the wicked, whose doom is described in these words: '[The]n he will place angels in charge over them, and they will take them in keeping and ca[st] them into Hell.'

(A line is here left free in the text, to indicate a slight change and short lapse of time).

The lower part of this fourth page (lines 9-16) carries the action farther, but is incomplete. It tells how more than a year, after the Judgment, is occupied by the 'God of the Realm of Wisdom' in purifying his Kingdom because the arch-demons *Āz* and gaunt

²⁴ Compare the similar construction in the antithetic phrase in M. 477 v. 2 (= Mü. p. 15 mid.) *dēnvarān za'uriq dūšmēn*, 'mighty enemies of the Righteous.'

²⁵ TPhl. *vičarišn* (in the caption). This 'separation' or 'division', as in Matt. 25. 32, recalls in a way the Zoroastrian idea of the *Vidāiti*, the 'Division' which takes place when the wicked are finally separated from the righteous.

Avarzōg will each come, and they will 'increase (lit. 'pile up') suffering and distress, ////////// [= misery?], famine and lamentation,' without cessation, while 'wind, water, and fire prevail (lit. 'run') in the world and ///// [= torrential ?] rain will rai[n].'

[*The rest, perhaps seven lines, is wanting*].

It is even possible that an entire leaf has been lost, depicting further scenes of suffering, from which the righteous however were exempt, since they are represented in the next Fragment as preparing to ascend heavenward.

This following Fragment, M. 482 recto and verso = Mü. p. 16-17, is captioned *Shābūhragān*, being therefore from Mānī's noted work, but is in a very broken condition. I have been able to make out, however, that the first nine lines (M. 482 r. 1-9) describe how the Elect and Hearers, as they depart, will be grieved at finding that some of their own kin who had transgressed are doomed to suffer, while they themselves are happily sanctified. This strikes a note of parting sadness, since the next line (10), written in red ink as a *finis* to this portion, records that the account of 'THE COMING OF THE ONE MAKING-ALIVE IS COMPLETED.'

A space of four lines is then left vacant in the text to indicate that a further development of the subject is taken up, namely, 'THIS LEADING UP' (of the souls of light) as the red ink title of line 15 reads, and in the broken next two lines the name of the 'God of the Realm of Wisdom' is again mentioned, but the rest of the page is unfortunately missing.

The continuation of the account on the reverse side of this leaf from the *Shābūhragān* (M. 482 v. 1-17 = Mü. p. 16-17) is captioned 'THE TWO PRINCIPLES OF', that is, of Light and Darkness, as involving Heaven and Hell. It is much broken in the first part, but I am inclined to believe that its opening alludes to changes that will take place on earth and in heaven prior to 'the time of the *Frashēgērd*.'²⁸ These vital changes, if my interpretation of the fragmentary lines 5-8 be right, will include a gradual disappearance of all life on earth: 'vegetal life (lit. 'tree') wi[th the

²⁸ It is probably best to read here *pršqyrd* (*Frashēgērd*) instead of Müller's *pad(?) ašqird*, so Salemann, *Man. Stud.* 1. p. 111, although he records (p. 27) Müller's recollection as still giving the former reading. In any case the time of the final Consummation is referred to.

bird] that flies, also the creature that belongs in the water, and the [animals] that belong on the earth, will [disapp]ear from the liv[ing] world.’²⁷

Immediately after this, as the text goes on practically unbroken for a half-dozen lines, there ensues a cessation of the functioning of the three great elemental forces, wind, water and fire, from beneath the lowest earth. Whereupon the ‘Son of the Realm’ (i. e. the great architect Bān) will make manifest the New Realm, as planned from the beginning, and show likewise the abode of the demons, while the just go in company to Paradise, and everything sub-lunary dissolves. Although the critical notes on this latter part of the page already summarized are kept for a later occasion, the following translation may help to make its contents more clear (M. 482 v. 9-17).

‘(Then, ///= *gaḥī*) the [W]ind, Water and Fire will pass away (*ʿabēsīhād*) from /// [= *hān*, that] lowest earth upon which the Mānbēd (i. e. Augustine’s Atlas) and the Wind-raising God (i. e. Gloriosus Rex) do stand. And the ‘God, Son of the Realm’ (i. e. the great architect Bān) will show the New Realm and the abode of the demons of ///// [Hell, *dūšōx*]. The deserv[ing] one will be accompanied [to Par]adise and be received. Then (*ʿēg*) be[low the station of]²⁸ the (M)oon God /////.’

[*Rest of the page missing*].

The lost lines, probably seven in number, must have outlined the

²⁷ Reconstruct as *ʿa[bāg mūrg] ʿi paravar* (cf. N. P. *parāvar* ‘flying’) *vā dām ʿig ābēg vā//g///r ʿi zamīg ač šahr zih[rēn]/////vānd*. Restore this verb as [*fraša*]*vānd*, cf. Av. root *frašav-* in the sense of ‘to depart, disappear.’ I have retained my suggestion to interpret Müller’s original reading *zih[rēn]* as ‘living’ (cf. M. 176. 1 = Mü. p. 60 top), even though his re-collation (Sm. p. 27) gives *ḍ ḥ*’ [*n ḍ*], *daḥānd*, ‘they will give’, which, in this connection, is not clear to me. Furthermore, as to the broken word *//g///r*, Salemann (p. 27, notes on line 7) remarks that Müller now states that only the uppermost parts of the letters are preserved and that it might also be possible to read as *///s(?) t(?) r*. If it were not fanciful, I would suggest rather to compare NP and BkPhl. *janvar*, ‘having life, animal.’

²⁸ Restore the text of the lacuna at the end of line 16 and the beginning of line 17 to read: *ʿōr[ūn] ʿaž pādgoš ʿi m]āh yazd*—support for which can be fully given.

beginning of the world-cataclysm as portrayed in the next Fragment, which carries forward the story with the words '(like) snow melts away.' Many of the details are described also in the Manichaean accounts of the end of the world that have been translated by Arabic and Persian writers.

Scenes as the End approaches. Scenes of appalling grandeur, delineated in our fifth Fragment, M. 472 r. and v. (= Mü. p. 17-19), which is likewise taken from the *Shābūhragān*, follow each other in rapid succession as the general cataclysm begins. The Manichaean text (M. 472 r. 2-8) describing the collapse of the ten heavens runs here as follows:

'[///// *ān* //] The (God)s will purify (it)?—read (*yazd*) *ān* (*paḥrēzānd*)?]. When that light which is im[mortal] is (all) led up to the (G)ods, they then (š?) will bring together both the nombril (i. e. zenith of the sky) and the (lowest) heaven, for (lit. 'and') he (i. e. the Pāḥragbēd, Splenditenens, as custodian of the heavens) will seize the uppermost heaven, which matches (?) wholly with the lowest, and it will become loosened from (its) bond and arrangement' (= *vīnār-ī?š?n?*, cf. Sm. p. 27).'

We may interrupt, for a moment, to insert parenthetically an illustrative quotation from the Arabic writer al-Murtaḍā (cf. Kessler, *Mani*, p. 348, 353), who was well acquainted with Mānī's teachings, though living a thousand years after his time. The passage quoted records not only the idea of the cataclysm, but also that of the world-consuming Fire which Mānī mentions in the very next Fragment (M. 470) as lasting '1468 years.' Al-Murtaḍā's brief descriptive paragraph (with which compare also earlier the Fihrist, ed. and tr. Flügel, p. 57-58, 90) is here rendered as follows:

'Thereupon, the Angel who has been placed in charge of the heaven lets go. Then the uppermost (parts) are overturned to the lowermost ones, and a Fire breaks out in these lowermost (parts) and continues burning until the portions of light that are in the World of Darkness, and which are knotted together with the portions of darkness, are liberated. Concerning the duration of this Conflagration they (the Manichaeans) differ; it is said by some that the duration is 1468 years, but by others it is said to be 1460 years'.

To resume our Manichaean Fragment. Directly after describing the collapse of the heavens into one, its text continues (lines 9-19) with the account of how 'the God Mihr (Envoy of Light, the Third Messenger) will thereupon //// [= 'āyād, come] from the chariot of the Sun to the combined region, and a shout will be raised,' as he is joined by the five powerful Gods as 'Helpers', those mighty guardians who have hitherto kept the world in order. No shout, however, will be raised by the now humbled demons Āz and Ahriman, or by the devils and enchantresses, since they all will be smitten and their dwelling place destroyed. The rest of this page, probably five lines, is missing, but little of importance appears to be lost as we may judge from the contents of the reverse page (M. 472 v. 1-13) which is headed, this time in black letters, as being 'About the Completion'.²⁹ It recounts how the five powerful Gods, above mentioned, will lay aside their completed tasks and mount heavenward after the four upper earths have been laid down together, one above the other, over the four lower 'deposits' which form the abode of the demons.

The Closing Scenes. From out this cataclysm and chaos bursts forth that 'Great Fire,' or world conflagration, to burn for '1468 years,' as described in the sixth and last Fragment, M. 470 r. and v. (= Mū. p. 19-22).³⁰ Parts of Mānī's apocalyptic picture of these events receive illumination through passages also in the Muhammadan writers an-Nadīm, Shahrastānī and al-Murtaḍā (the latter quoted above), but still more through the Christian author of the *Acta Archelai*, and from some allusions in Alexander of Lycopolis and the Syrian bishop, St. Ephraim. But there is no space here to quote these latter authors.

In this connection, however, we may add that this all-consuming fire, in which the wicked suffer torment, serves also to purify that small element of light which may still have remained imprisoned in darkness. This residual mass, as will be shown elsewhere, is called by the Greek and Syriac writers *bōlos*, 'clod', and by the Latin and Arabic authors, 'horrible globe' and 'knotted mass' respec-

²⁹ TPhl 'ABAR ḤAMBAHĪŠN, 'about the fulfilment, accomplishment, completion', cf. Skt. *sampad-*, 'to fall together, succeed, be accomplished or fulfilled', and the derivative noun *sampatti-*, of similar connotation. See also Bartholomae, *ZumAirWb.*, p. 72 n. 2, and p. 189.

³⁰ Concerning this problematic number '1468' see the article by my fellow-worker, Dr. C. J. Ogden, in the *J. J. Modi Memorial Volume*, p. 102-105, Bombay, 1930.

tively. An allusion to this general concept is evidently contained in our very Fragment on the Great Fire (M. 470 r. 2-13). After mentioning the light and happiness of the Gods in contrast to the vanquished demons, it is expressly said in lines 7-13 that, 'that Divinity (i. e. light)³¹ which is in yonder Hell will be drawn out therefrom, will become pure and be led up to the Sun and the Moon, and it will become a God after the essence of Ohrmazd the Divinity (Primal Man); and from the Sun and the Moon they will lead it up together to Paradise.'

A striking Scene then follows. The rest of this page (M. 470 recto, 13-24), combined with the next (verso, 1-23) which is entitled 'ABOUT THE SOUL[s] ////////// (in Hell?),' presents a striking scene. We have, moreover, a good paraphrase of its contents, after Mānī's own statements, in an-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (transl. Flügel, p. 101-102), besides having some general parallels in the *Acta Archelai*, 13. 1-3 (ed. Beeson, p. 21-22). It graphically pictures how the Gods that watch over the four quarters of heaven descend, each from his own station, to view the New Paradise and watch the amazing spectacle of the final conflagration. First to come is Ōhrmīzd the Divinity (Primal Man) from the northern region. From the east descends that second shining messenger, the 'God of the Realm of Light', who is called in another Fragment 'Friend of Light' as well as Narēsap ('Announcer to Men') and is termed, even more appropriately, the 'Bringer of Good Tidings', according to the Arabic paraphrase of this passage. From the south comes the 'God of the New Realm', that is, the great architect (Bān) who originally designed this ideal construction that is now to receive realization, while from the west appears the great sun-god Mihr (Mithra). These four take their stand above the New Paradise and look down into Hell.

Not only that, but as this page concludes and the next one begins, the righteous Elect in Paradise will likewise descend, coming as fellow-members to join the company of the Gods, and will take their places beside them above Hell, while standing to watch the Evil-doers writhing, turning, and suffering torture in this fire which now eclipses even the light of the sun and the moon. These sinners in Hell, upon recognizing the sanctified, will beg to have a

³¹ For divinity as synonymous with light see my remarks on TPhl. *rōšanān* ۴ *bā* in *JRAS.* 1924. 139 mid. Cf. Scheftelowitz, *Die Entstehung d. manich. Relig.*, p. 18-19.

share in their good record and will implore them for release from the burning, but they receive only rebukes in return and are destined to remain in torment for all eternity. So much for their doom; and while the last few lines of this Turfan Pahlavi document are much broken, their general sense, as already given, is assured by the Arabic paraphrase in the *Fihrist*, as referred to above.

The Final Struggle and End of the Power of Darkness. We know from the Manichaean texts that Ahriman, Āz (Greed) and the other demons are smitten, but we learn also from the Arabic authors that one last offensive is undertaken by them, headed by Hummāma, the female spirit of Darkness personified, in an attempt to combat the forces of light, but all is futile. An-Nadīm in his *Fihrist*, quoting Mānī, recounts (cf. Flügel, p. 90):

‘This conflagration, Mānī says, lasts for 1468 years; and when this occurrence comes to an end and Hummāma, Spirit of Darkness, observes the liberation of the Light and the ascent of the Angels, Hosts and Guardians, she becomes humbled. And when she watches the battle and sees how the Hosts beset her round about, she flees to the Grave that is prepared for her. Thereupon, he (i. e., its Builder) closes the Grave with a stone as big as the world, and imprisons her therein. Thus the Light becomes safe at last from the Darkness and from being harmed by it.’

St. Ephraim, less than a century after Mānī’s death, was equally acquainted with his teaching as to this grave and its fabulous stone (cf. tr. C. W. Mitchell, I. p. lxxiv). Hell with the lid on is a grandiose conception!

Conclusion. Thus amid scenes of conflagration and chaos, this visible world comes to an end. The Powers of Good are at last triumphant and the Kingdom of Light is established to eternity, while Evil and Darkness are relegated forever to the realm that gave them birth. The separation will be once more complete, with the universe restored to its pre-existing order. This is ‘the Re-establishment of the Two Natures,’ as the Manichaean Turbo quotes his master as saying. This ushers in the ‘Third Time’ with the Two Principles absolutely divided as in the beginning; its duration will be to eternity, lasting forever and forever.